743 so there is competent medical assistance. Those who are too poor to pay receive free aid and medications, milk, and soup; those who can pay do so, paying only the wholesale prices of the articles. The institute is well equipped, with an x-ray machine, diathermy, and other heat appliances, which are popular because of the prevalence of colds and rheumatism.

743 529 [546] 743 873 The institute also operates the weekly motion picture which has been a great boon to the town, a recreation room, centrally located in the town, which has a radio, billiard tables, and a bar selling milk shakes, sandwiches, beer, and soft drinks. This place has become the major meeting place for the men and boys of the town. In addition to this, the institute also runs a night school for adults.

463 [571] [462] Group 2, as listed at the beginning of this chapter, consists mainly of the people who work for those in Group 1 and who are attached to them by the bonds of the patronship to some extent, as well as by salary. The majority of persons in this category are women, engaged in the traditional female pursuits of washing, ironing, sewing, embroidering, and general housework.

296 462 463 [482] As a rule the laundry is washed at one of the town wells, which are encased in cement. The women carry the dirty clothes, a bucket, and wooden basin, all piled on top of their heads, to the well. They pull up enough water in their buckets to fill the basins in which the clothes are washed. After a soaking and scrubbing with soap the wet, soapy clothes are spread out on the ground in the sun, and from time to time water is sprinkled on them to aid the sun in bleaching. Then the clothes are rewashed and spread out to dry. Depending upon the weather, the washing and drying process may take from a whole day to three or four days before the clothes are considered clean enough. Then they are taken home to be [463] ironed. The older pattern demanded that a different person do [178] the ironing, but today this pattern is breaking down and frequently the same person washes and irons. The irons used are the old-fashioned kind heated by charcoal, which is placed inside and ignited. The irons are made with drafts to keep the fire going, and the women must stop frequently to fan the fire or renew the charcoal. Often a busy woman has two irons going and sets one aside to heat while she irons with the other.

462 252 463 Many women also prepare xangó, a small sardinelike fish caught in great quantities by the fishermen of Vila Reconca-

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish
[171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
[177] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
[178] Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
[776] ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's*
'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
[782] while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
[226] must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
mãe de santo who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
555 *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
[463] trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
[872] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read
[873] and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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[City of Salvador]

permitting as it does a full and unobstructed sweep of the cooling sea breeze, makes these heights more comfortable, more healthful, and, consequently, more desirable places of residence. One usually finds here the more modern and substantial buildings, the homes of the upper classes. Here ordinarily live the scions of the old aristocracy, the large landholders, the city's intellectuals, and the leaders of its "society"; the lawyers, physicians, engineers, and politicians; the officials of the army, the poets and journalists, the professors in the Faculdades, the few industrialists which Bahia has so far produced—in fact, nearly all those prominent in the intellectual, political, "social," and economic life of the city. These families possess considerable property and employ numerous servants. Their members are usually literate, and at least the males are *formados* (i.e., graduated from one of the Faculdades, either in law, medicine, or engineering), a distinction which in the Bahian society marks them off quite sharply from the rest of the population.

It is in these areas that the five newspapers published in the city circulate almost exclusively and the latest fashions from Paris or Hollywood are known and generally adopted. In recent years an occasional example of modernistic architecture and interior design has appeared. Here are to be found the owners of virtually all the city's 3,855 telephones, its 1,028 automobiles, its radios, and private libraries. Here live most of the 20,524 voters who cast ballots in the municipal election of 1936. Here attachment to the *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is minimal and Catholic belief is least modified by elements from the more primitive religions. Here live that portion of the population which *o povo* ("the people") call the *ricos*, or the "rich."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

gray caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	390	2‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	424	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuso*, 9; *mameluco*, 7.
† *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuso*, 5; *mameluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical.
‖ *Cafuso*, 2.
¶ *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 4.
** *Cafuso*, 1; *mameluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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563* 873 •

black families were present. The guests were principally white, including a number of *brancos da Bahia*. A few mulattoes, principally light, also attended. A dark mixed-blood assisted with the ushering, in the course of which he led two of his relatives (young light mulatto ladies) to excellent seats well to the front. Later, as the room became crowded, he was seen to request two white men to give up their seats to two other mulatto ladies. The request was courteously complied with. When, during the subsequent formal ceremonies, this dark mixed-blood received his diploma, he was given by his fellow-students (chiefly whites) a vigorous round of applause, he being one of the few so honored. "He is a fine man with a brilliant mind," remarked a white colleague.

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A number of teachers, particularly in the elementary and secondary institutions, are mixed-bloods, but the greater number are whites. Although 120 of 148 white students responding to an inquiry regarding the matter did not object to being taught by a *preto* teacher, black instructors are rare and are limited, with few exceptions, to the elementary ranks. This is, in all probability, largely due to the fact that comparatively few blacks have so far received educational advantages equal to the whites.

For instance, of 232 instructors at the four Faculdades (Law, Medicine, Engineering, and Economics), none was black; 163, or 70.3 per cent, were white; 36, or 15.5 per cent, were *branco da Bahia;* and 31, or 13.4 per cent, were mulatto.[1] Of 69 *professores cathedraticos*, 54, or 78.3 per cent, were white; 10, or 14.5 per cent, were mulatto; 5, or 7.2 per cent, were *branco da Bahia;* and none was black. Of 5 profes-

[1] One was an Indian-Negro mixed-blood, and one was of Indian-white descent.

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked:

> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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to the anthropophysical study of the colored child/. Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

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The author of these pages has classified, according to their respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

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Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for university instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of

5: Azevedo--20 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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*563 70 /60 cont./ parade, one was recently able to identify three morenos, but it should be added that, the land army, aviation, or the navy being national bodies, the officers detached to serve in the different States include only a small number of local elements.

• [873] The Brazilian university students do military service by attending, for two years, courses for the preparation of reserve officers for the army. Colored students are admitted there like all the others, and, as certain of them have assured us, they are not subject to any discriminatory measures. But as few young men of Bahia intend to have a military career, the difficulties that persons of dark color may encounter in this sector are not very important. According to numerous informants, however, only the nearly white métis obtain officers' posts in the combat forces; it is easier for them to obtain posts as doctors, pharmacists, intendants, and procurator of military justice. A mulatto student relates that he aspired to enter military aviation, but that, fearing that he would not be admitted, he decided on another career. The officers' schools do not refuse the registration of dark-colored candidates, but the latter, our informants say, rarely satisfy the physical and intellectual demands required by the respective regulations, which provoked lively debates a few years ago in the national parliament.

*563 708 701 The military police of the State of Bahia is a traditionally popular organization, in the ranks of which no racial distinction is made; its troops have been made up of a majority of colored men. Within its primitive system of promotions a large number of mulatto and black soldiers have advanced to the ranks of officers and have succeeded in performing, under the general command of the State, duties of major importance during periods of political agitation, during periods when the government of the State had to be able to count on the loyalty of its troops. The political intrusions in the granting of these posts have greatly decreased with the changes that have been brought about in the Brazilian democratic system, but they continue nevertheless to play a certain role. From the officers' ranks of this militia have come numerous Blacks who have occupied important posts in the

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*563 545 533 [204] society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/ pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the subject.

*563 814 538 [532] [346] In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an important role, although in the past they have produced some painters and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 • 873 [875] In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, painting, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 545 [873] In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

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* 563 545 • [893] presentations of the secondary schools and universities, where color prejudice is undeniably greatly reduced. This is confirmed above all with regard to actors with pronounced Negroid features. A mulatto student relates that he often played roles (especially because of his voice) in the theater of the public secondary school where he studied; he almost always performed vocal solos, but he also often played the roles of a charlatan, a fisherman, or others of the same type. He was once designated to play, with a white companion, a love scene in which the two were to appear hand in hand. After numerous rehearsals, he was replaced by a White on the evening of the performance, on the pretext that he appeared /64/ earlier in numerous other scenes and it was necessary to give other students a chance to appear. Our informant assumes, as indeed the theatrical director admitted, that other persons considered it unsuitable for the girl to play a love scene with a mulatto.

The little theater organized and directed by a well-known intellectual of mixed blood has had great success; it is praised by the art critics and greatly admired by the population, which flocks in large numbers to attend its performances. But an incident with the judge for minors gave rise to interpretations that have been linked to color prejudice. Some time ago the theater [671] gave presentations that were prolonged into the night; the judge [692] for minors, basing himself on the law that forbids the labor of children and their presence in cinemas, circuses, theaters, and other places of nocturnal entertainment, decided to suspend the performances and instituted legal action against the director, who also directed a State department for cultural and artistic broadcasting /Fr. diffusion, diffusion, propagation, broadcasting/; the children who belong to this theater as amateur actors are recruited among families of the local intermediate classes. According to certain colored informants, these measures were due to resentment over the success gained by the initiative of a métis; and one informant heard it said in an omnibus that "the mistake of the promoter of the theater was to mix colored children and white children on the stage." These two versions are rejected by many Whites and métis who discussed this incident passionately, but it is undeniable that they have significance for the sociologist and the social psychologist.

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*563 871 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and Blacks. Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

[162]

[127] [114]

1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 ● 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

[162]

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

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*563 162 • 873 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public secondary schools recently established always include a larger number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around *563 873 178 1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student, which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed. Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them, from poor families, have studied in public schools.

*563 875 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction; numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

[SALVADOR]

/68 cont./

*563 872 572 565 In the public elementary schools the students, in general little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscriminately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/ that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 [217] In the libraries one can see students of very different types gathered around the same tables and working together. The colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary association founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary school has white and colored members.

[814 873]

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*563 575 •873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] [113]

1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos raciais no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the *563 872 public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

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*563 872 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2)

[192] [567]

2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."

*563 ● 873 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20

*563 873 178 or 25 years ago. All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

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*563 •893 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 873 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/ Religion

*563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." In the solemn [796] festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. [788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination [565] tion; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

5: Azevedo--102 D, Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[SALVADOR]

/79/ The Liberal Professions

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555 One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. And this is possible [873] for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will render him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

[113]

2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

[SALVADOR]

/79 cont./

*563 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata
• 873 of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted
178 to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks
511 to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored
555 people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make ex-
593 traordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will
873 permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the
*563 various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous
571 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of
873 their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

[SALVADOR]

*563 /80 cont./
•873 regard to this, one mulatto asserts that the black students are mis-
571 treated by their white comrades on the occasion of the trote in-
flicted on the calouros by the veterans (1);

[192]

1. Trote = jokes and humorous ceremonies with which the older students, the veterans, receive into the schools of the university those newly admitted, or calouros.

two persons practicing a liberal profession and with very pronounced Negroid features asserted exactly the opposite. The esteem of black and mulatto students for their comrades, and the attentions of which they are the object when they show themselves gifted and industrious, are also proof of the harmony of which we have spoken. At the time of the distribution of diplomas, students of all types are mixed together without distinction and embrace one another as a sign of rejoicing; likewise, in the large pictures showing the portraits of the recipients with the insignia of each discipline, the latter are grouped according to the State from which they come (the University of Bahia includes students from different regions of Brazil), but never according to their physical type. The relations between students and professors are likewise good, the "quality" of one or the other influences their relations only in an altogether exceptional way. There were formerly, in the years that followed the abolition of slavery, university professors who were opposed to the entrance of black students in their faculties and who would have liked to prevent them from attending their courses. Such an attitude was sometimes manifest and it did happen that it obtained the tacit support of certain persons; but it was disapproved of /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /81/ on the whole. Only one informant asserted that in the faculty he attended the colored students did not enjoy the same facilities as the Whites. Nevertheless the prize that one of the faculties offers annually to the student who has completed the courses with a total of the highest marks has often been won by young colored people. Black and mulatto

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the
571 palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of
• 873 the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil
*563 engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is
874 particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia
[178] represented for engineers some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited
873 to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And
875 he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

[SALVADOR]

/81 cont./

*563 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and
•873 morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).
875

2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of
463 social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu.
555 With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows: